

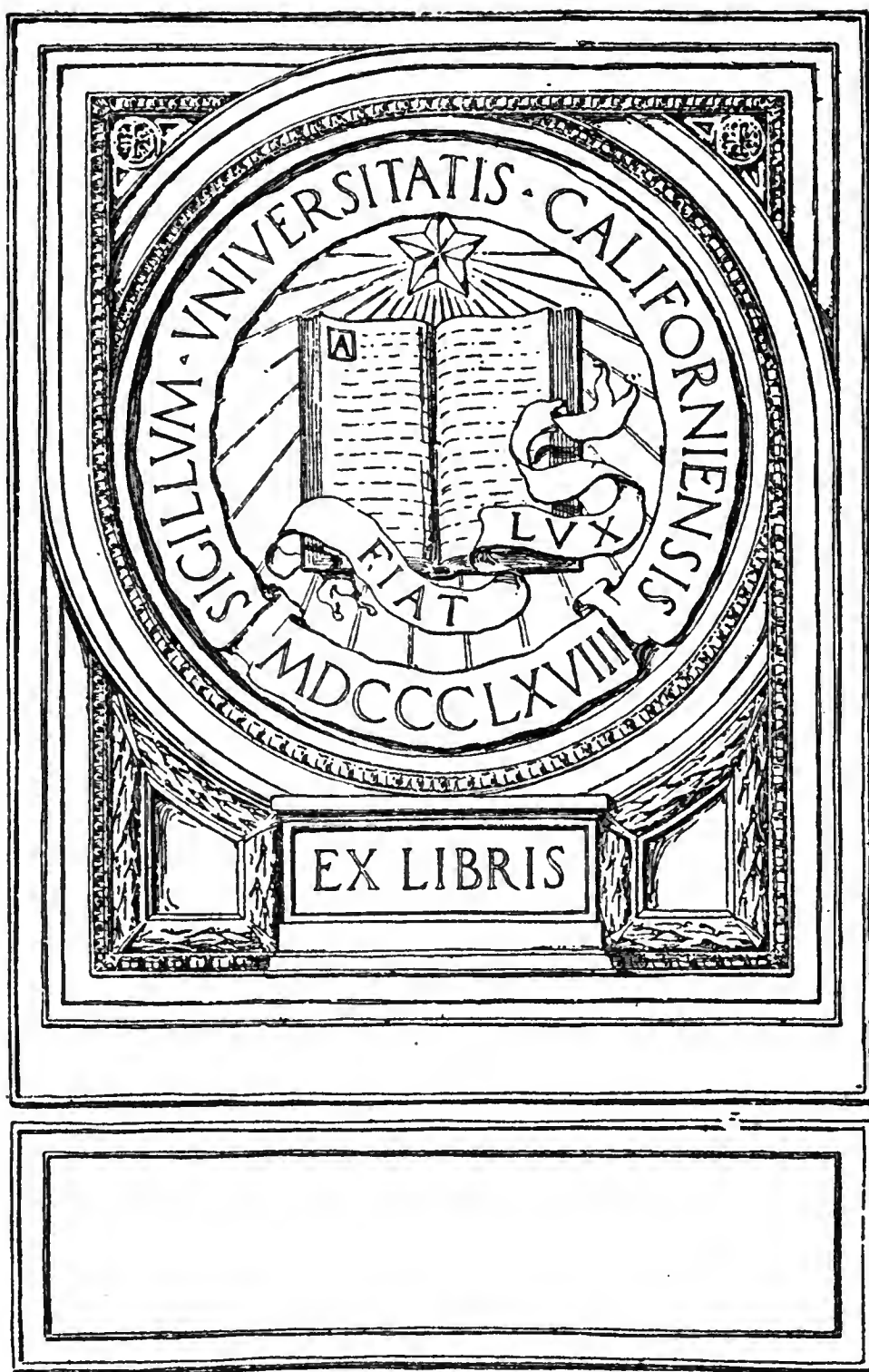
AFRICA AND THE WAR

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY

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AFRICA AND THE WAR

BY

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY

Author of "A Short History of the American Negro,"
"The Negro in Literature and Art,"
"Your Negro Neighbor," etc.

*The controversy with the nations is not over, nor will
be, until the divine government is reverentially
acknowledged by the human family.—Lorenzo Dow.*



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PREFACE

THE Civil War in the United States was fought to decide the destiny of the Negro in America. The great war of our own day is to determine the future of the Negro in the world. Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, the Balkans, and even Russia, all become second in importance to the overwhelming question of the possession and development of the continent of Africa. The Negro, not the Belgian or the Russian, is after all at the heart of the problem.

The aim of the present work is not to give a study of African history and tradition. That has been done within the last few years as well as it is likely to be done by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois in his little book, "The Negro." It is not to give an account of either African exploration or colonization. For the adequate treatment of these subjects the earnest reader will of course go to such authorities as Livingstone, Schweinfurth, and Johnston. Nor is the aim to set forth

Preface

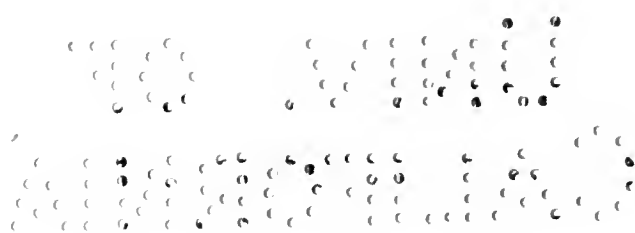
the part played by the native African or the American Negro in the war. That is all a thrilling story that will some day await the capable teller. The aim of the pages that follow is simply to set forth the striking features of a definite situation developed by the world conflict and to indicate the meaning of this for America. Anything else is incidental. Each of the supplementary chapters, however, attempts to take the world view, and it is hoped that in a larger and more spiritual way they may be found to bear out some of the ideas in the more practical chapters that precede them.

BENJAMIN BRAWLEY.

Morehouse College, Atlanta,
October 15, 1918.

THE
AFRICA AND THE WAR

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I

AFRICA

AFRICA was the home of the Pharaohs, and of Cleopatra—the land of the lotus-eaters, of caravans, and of pyramids. Neither Asia nor Europe can equal the riches or the dreams of this loneliest of continents, or rival the pathos of its song. It has nourished the Carthaginians, the Abyssinians, the Senegalese, and built empire after empire. It has also seen such heartless exploitation of human beings as the world in all its centuries never witnessed before.

It is difficult for us to conceive of the vastness of this continent. It holds over 11,500,000 square miles. It is nearly four times as large as our own United States. We speak of Georgia as the largest of our states east of the Missis-

issippi. Africa is two hundred times as large as Georgia. From Cape Town to Cairo is a distance of 5,000 miles, and the farthest points east and west are 4,650 miles apart. The lake system of Central Africa is equaled only by our own Great Lakes, while four great rivers—the Nile, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambezi—rival the Mississippi.

And here is a population of the most diversified types. The natives, perhaps 175,000,000 in number, extend all the way from the cultivated Egyptian or the warlike Zulu to the Central African bushman, and from four to seven feet in height. In the North are the Algerians and Egyptians, people partially of Hamitic or Semitic stock, with consequently some infusion of Caucasian blood. In the region of the upper Nile are the Abyssinians, children of the ancient Ethiopians. On the west coast are the Negroes, while in the vast region extending for two thousand miles south of the Soudan are the two hundred related Bantu tribes, merging into the Hottentot in the far South, or into the Kaffirs in the Southeast. Into this enormous population are thrown two million Europeans—Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Boers—living

generally in the cultivated centers near the coast. What might we not expect from this medley of races?

The flora and the fauna are the most wonderful in the world. Here are the antelope, the hippopotamus, the crocodile; the lion, the hyena, the giraffe; the ostrich, the python, the gorilla. In the North are the olive, the date, the fig; in the South the baobab, the banana, and cotton; and hundreds of thousands of fertile square miles are still virgin soil.

* * * * *

When at the end of the Middle Ages the first modern explorers went down the coast of Africa and began the slave-trade, they by no means came to a country altogether savage. The whole current conception of Africa and the Africans can find explanation only in the events of the last four hundred years. When the Moham-medans came down from the Northwest to the western part of the Soudan they found there the Negro kingdom of Ghana, which by the middle of the eleventh century had a capital built of wood and stone, and a king with an army of two hundred thousand. Early in the thirteenth century the kingdom of Melle, five hun-

dred miles north of the Gulf of Guinea, began to supersede the older Ghana; and for a hundred years it was the foremost power in this part of the world. "Its greatest king, Mansa Musa, made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324, with a caravan of sixty thousand persons. He took eighty camel loads of gold dust (worth about five million dollars) to defray his expenses, and greatly impressed the people of the East with his magnificence."* Then in the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the great bend of the Niger, rose the kingdom of Songhay, most extensive of all the Negro empires. Askia, its greatest ruler, by no means cultivated the splendor of Mansa Musa, but was rather a student, a statesman, and an organizer. During his reign he consolidated an empire nearly as large in extent as all Europe, he built a strong university, and we are told that "he was obeyed with as much docility on the farthest limits of the empire as he was in his own palace, and there reigned everywhere great plenty and absolute peace." Such was the culture that without outside assistance Africa had developed before the coming of the European.

* Du Bois: *The Negro*, 52.

Then came the slave-trader. Let any one who wonders why such kingdoms as those just mentioned have not been more permanent in their influence remember slavery. The center of the trade in the colonial period of American history was the coast for about two hundred miles east of the Niger River. From this comparatively small region came as many slaves as from all the rest of Africa together. Portugal led the way. In 1441 Prince Henry sent out one Gonzales, who captured three Moors on the African coast. These offered as ransom ten Negroes whom they had taken. The Negroes were brought to Lisbon in 1442, and in 1444 Prince Henry regularly began the European trade from the Guinea Coast. For fifty years his country enjoyed a monopoly of the traffic. The slaves were taken at first to Europe, and later to the Spanish possessions in America, where Indian slavery did not work well. Spain herself joined in the trade in 1517, and as early as 1530 William Hawkins, a merchant of Plymouth, visited the Guinea Coast and took away a few slaves. England really entered the field, however, with the voyage in 1562 of Captain John Hawkins, son of William, who also

went to the west coast. In course of time England came to regard the slave-trade as of such importance that when in 1713 she accepted the Peace of Utrecht she insisted on having awarded to her for thirty-three years the exclusive right to transport slaves to the Spanish colonies in America.

Slavery is a thing of the past now in English and American dominions, but even until our own day the curse has lingered in Africa, chiefly through the work of Mohammedans. Within comparatively recent years African slaves have been taken away to Arabia and Persia, and one might still occasionally come upon the traffic in the region of the Congo, or on the cocoa plantations of the Portuguese islands on the west coast.

Such is the system that ultimately gave rise to two interesting colonies in the West. As early as 1787 Sierra Leone was founded by the English as a colony for free Negroes, some of whom had gained their freedom in consequence of Lord Mansfield's decision in 1772, by which any slave who touched the soil of England became free. Others had been discharged from the British army after the American Revolution,

and all were leading in England a more or less precarious existence. In 1787 about four hundred were taken to a district purchased from the king of Sierra Leone, and five years later twelve hundred Negroes who had escaped from the United States to Canada were also taken thither. England cared with wisdom for the Negroes, giving them a daily allowance for the first six months, assigning lands to them, and generally seeking to bring them under the influence of religious education. As early as 1783 it had been proposed that such a colony as this should be established for free American Negroes; but it was not until 1816 that the American Colonization Society was organized, and not until 1822, after a treaty with certain native princes had been concluded, that active settlement began, each man being allotted a tract of thirty acres with the means of cultivating it. After a while, however, the agents of the society became discouraged at the difficulties that had to be overcome and returned to America with a few faint-hearted colonists. Others rallied around a spirited and determined Negro, Elijah Johnson, and remained, enlarging the colony by the purchase of new tracts of land. Within recent years

Liberia has had a varied history. Hard pressed by her powerful neighbors, a few years ago she appealed to the United States for aid in her business affairs, and in 1909 President Taft appointed a special commission to investigate the matter. Very recently (1918) the American Government has assisted with a new loan of \$5,000,000.

Even before Sierra Leone and Liberia were founded, however, there had been planted in the extreme southern part of Africa a colony that represented an entirely different tendency, one of Europeans who came not so much as slave-traders as to possess the land and to found their homes. It was about the middle of the seventeenth century, in 1652, that the Dutch, famous seamen of the time, took possession of Cape Colony. Many Boers, or Dutch farmers, emigrated to South Africa, being interested especially in the raising of cattle. They were joined in course of time by a few Huguenots who had been driven out of France. All became slaveholders. Early in the nineteenth century, in 1814, England purchased the Cape from Holland. Twenty years later, in consequence of England's general emancipation act, Parliament

bought all the Negroes held by the Boers and set them free. The Boers had never been happy about their transfer of allegiance, and eight thousand of them, disgusted with the loss of their slaves and the small price received for them, left the Cape and pushed northward into the wilderness. Crossing the Orange River, they founded the Orange Free State. Some, going still farther north, crossed the Vaal River, a tributary of the Orange, and established the Transvaal or South African Republic on what was practically a slave-holding foundation. The harsh treatment accorded the natives by the Boers, the later conflict with England, and the sturdy comradery of Englishman and Boer in the great war are all matters too familiar for present comment.

Such were the special colonies planted on the western or southern coasts. The interior of Africa, however, awaited development. The modern period of scientific exploration really began with James Bruce, whose discoveries and adventures, especially in the region of Abyssinia and the upper Nile, stimulated the founding of the African Association in 1788, which organization even before the close

of the eighteenth century sent out Ledyard, Lucas, Houghton, and Mungo Park to explore the Niger basin. The name, however, before which all others pale is that of David Livingstone.

II

DAVID LIVINGSTONE

WHEN Livingstone began his work of exploration in 1849, practically all of Africa between the Sahara and the Dutch settlements in the extreme South was unknown territory. By the time of his death in 1873 he had brought this entire region within the view of civilization. On his first journey, or series of journeys (1849-1856), starting from Cape Town, he made his way northward for a thousand miles to Lake Ngami; then, pushing on to Linyanti, he undertook one of the most perilous excursions of his entire career, his objective for more than a thousand miles being Loanda on the West Coast, which point he reached after six months in the wilderness. Coming back to Linyanti, he turned his face eastward, discovered Victoria Falls on the Zambezi, and finally arrived at Quilimane on the coast. On his second series of journeys

(1858–1864) he explored the Zambezi, the Shire, and the Rovuma rivers in the East, and discovered Lake Nyasa. On his final expedition (1866–1873), in hunting for the upper courses of the Nile he discovered Lakes Tanganyika, Mweru, and Bangweolo, and the Lualaba River. His achievement as an explorer was as distinct as it was unparalleled. His work as a missionary and his worth as a man it is not quite so easy to express concretely; but in these capacities he was no less distinguished and his accomplishment no less signal.

There had been missionaries, and great ones, in Africa before Livingstone. There was the Moravian, George Schmidt, who, coming in 1737, labored for six years among the natives in the South until he was forced by the settlers to give up his work. Five years after him came John Schwälber, who also labored among the Hottentots and who died after eight years of service. On the East Coast one hundred years later there was the great Krapf, and in the South Robert Moffat, Livingstone's own father-in-law, who labored for fifty-three years, helping to open up Bechuanaland for later workers. The difference between Livingstone and these consecrated

men was not so much in devotion as in the conception of the task. He himself felt that a missionary in the Africa of his day was to be more than a mere preacher of the word—that he would have also to be a Christian statesman, and even a director of exploration and commerce if need be. This was his title to greatness; to him “the end of the geographical feat was only the beginning of the enterprise.” Knowing, however, that many honest persons did not sympathize with him in this conception of his mission, after 1856 he declined longer to accept salary from the missionary society that originally sent him out, working afterwards under the patronage of the British Government and the Royal Geographical Society.

His sympathy and his courtesy were unfailing, even when he himself was placed in the greatest danger. Said Henry Drummond of him: “Wherever David Livingstone’s footsteps are crossed in Africa the fragrance of his memory seems to remain.” On one occasion a hunter was impaled on the horn of a rhinoceros, and a messenger ran eight miles for the physician. Although he himself had been wounded for life

by a lion and his friends insisted that he should not ride at night through a wood infested with wild beasts, Livingstone insisted on his Christian duty to go, only to find that the man had died and to have to retrace his footsteps. Again and again his party would have been destroyed by some savage chieftain if it had not been for his own unbounded tact and courage. To the devoted men who helped him he gave the assurance that he would die before he would permit them to be taken; and after his death at Chitambo's village Susi and Chuma journeyed for nine months and over eight hundred miles of dangerous country to take his body to the coast. Already Livingstone divined the danger for the future of the harsh attitude of the Roman Catholics toward Protestants; he was unrelenting in his efforts against the slave trade; and he could find no justification whatever for the treatment of the natives by the Boers. As for himself, on one occasion at Kolobeng the Boers smashed all the chairs and medicine-bottles in the house, and on four wagons took away the table, the sofa, and everything else that was worth having. Withal, however, he was a man of tremendous faith, in his mission,

in his country, in humanity, in God. Wrote he on one occasion:

This age presents one great fact in the Providence of God; missions are sent forth to all quarters of the world,—missions not of one section of the Church, but from all sections, and from nearly all Christian nations. It seems very unfair to judge of the success of these by the number of the conversions that have followed. These are rather proofs of the missions being of the right sort. The fact which ought to stimulate us above all others is, not that we have contributed to the conversion of a few souls, however valuable these may be, but that we are diffusing a knowledge of Christianity throughout the world. Future missionaries will see conversions follow every sermon. We prepare the way for them. We work for a glorious future which we are not destined to see—the golden age which has not been, but will yet be. We are only morning-stars shining in the dark, but the glorious morn will break, the good time coming yet. For this time we work; may God accept our imperfect service.

Of such quality was David Livingstone—Missionary, Explorer, Philanthropist. “For thirty years his life was spent in an unwearied effort to evangelize the native races, to explore the

undiscovered secrets, and abolish the desolating slave trade of Central Africa.” To what extent after sixty years have we advanced toward his ideals? With what justice are we the inheritors of his renown?

III

GERMANY'S COLONIES IN AFRICA AS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM OF THE WAR

INTEREST in colonization in Africa was very largely an outgrowth of the great industrial development of the leading countries of Europe in the closing years of the nineteenth century. England and France grew apace in mining and manufactures, while Germany, under the stimulus of Bismarck's encouragement of internal development after the era of his great military successes, became famous both for the variety and the intrinsic worth of her products. The whole phenomenon was in the form of a circle. Invention and commerce stimulated colonization, and distant possessions, with their raw materials and their demands for finished products, in turn gave new impetus to industry in the home countries. After the work of Livingstone Europe could not long remain unmindful

of the vast possibilities of an undeveloped continent lying at her very door.

The new era was signalized by the efforts of Leopold II, King of the Belgians. From the beginning of his reign in 1865 this ruler read with interest the unfolding page of African exploration. On his invitation there assembled in Brussels in 1876 a congress which became organized as the International Association for the Civilization of Central Africa. The design of the association was not only for the distinctly scientific purpose of exploration, but also professedly for the ending of the slave trade, and national committees were formed in the different countries represented for the better promotion of the work. It was under the auspices of this organization, specifically of the Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo, that Stanley, fresh from a tour of the Great Lakes of Central Africa, was in 1879 sent to study the Congo region. The distinguished explorer returned after five years, bringing maps of a great territory of 900,000 square miles. Even before he returned, however, because the national committees had not rendered very material service, Leopold had more and more been obliged to

finance the expedition alone. To recover what he had spent he began to develop the Congo territory commercially. In 1884, after about forty stations had been founded and steamers had regularly begun to ply up and down the river, the Committee for the Study of the Upper Congo, that is to say, the International Association, changed its name to the International Association of the Congo, which organization received recognition at the hands of the United States. Complications now arose. Portugal insisted on a claim to the mouth of the river and sought the aid of Great Britain. Leopold made kindly overtures to France, and Bismarck also opposed Portugal by way of opposing England. The proposed treaty between Portugal and England was not ratified. England having been thwarted for the moment, Germany was now ready to recognize the Congo State, and issued invitations to a congress at Berlin. Whatever the motive for its calling, this conference was really needed. German traders had already settled far down on the west coast, French and Portuguese claims were conflicting, and in general there were dangers of serious complications.

The famous congress met in Berlin, Novem-

ber 15, 1884. It not only recognized the vast domain of the International Association of the Congo, but laid down the principle that if any power contemplated the establishment of a protectorate in any section it would have to notify all the other powers before doing so. Leopold promised not only to allow freedom of commerce in the region under his protection, but also to improve the condition of the natives who had already begun to suffer under his system. It was not long, however, before he began to betray his trust. Nevertheless the congress remains noteworthy as an effort on the part of the great powers of Europe to consider with candor and with open minds their colonial claims and differences.

It was in 1878 that a German branch of the International Association was founded. Already for some years German missionaries had labored in the Southwest, and now the Southern Congo and the eastern region near Zanzibar were explored. In 1884 Bismarck declared the land along the coast from Angola to Cape Colony under German protection, and thus German Southwest Africa appeared on the map. In the same year, after dealings with native chiefs,

Germany also declared a protectorate over Togoland, a little kingdom on the Gulf of Guinea, and over Kamerun, a much larger territory farther east of the Gulf. German East Africa also now assumed definite shape. This was the result of the efforts of the German East African Company. In 1888 there was a stern revolt of the Arabs working in the section, one which the company was not strong enough to handle. Berlin accordingly sent an Imperial Commissioner to take charge. Bismarck, now thoroughly interested in colonization, more and more offended England by his aggressive methods. After he fell from power in 1890, his successor, Count Caprivi, endeavored to come to an understanding with Great Britain. The result was a settlement in the same year by which the boundaries of Kamerun became fixed, German East Africa was extended to the Belgian Congo, a narrow strip of land reaching from the northeast end of German Southwest Africa to the Zambezi River was definitely secured, and the Island of Heligoland in the North Sea was given to Germany by England. In return Great Britain received full power over Zanzibar and a clear title to British East Africa. The settle-

ment satisfied nobody. English critics were specially bitter in view of the fact that the large section known as German East Africa lay directly in the way of the proposed Cape-to-Cairo railroad. Germany, on the other hand, in spite of the large concessions granted to her, still felt that too much had been yielded. German East Africa, however, now entered upon a highly prosperous career. In German Southwest Africa the story was entirely different. Formidable conflicts with the native Hottentots and later with the Herreros in the North persistently attracted attention away from the industries of peace and really gave rise to many problems of the present day.

It is worth while to review what in the meantime had been done in African colonization by the foremost powers, England and France. Perhaps the most noteworthy advance in African history of the last fifty years has been that of the English in South Africa. By the time of the treaty with Germany in 1890 Great Britain had not only extended her boundaries over Bechuanaland and Zululand and begun to extend her influence in Rhodesia; she had gained the vast tract of Nigeria in the west, had estab-

lished a protectorate over British Somaliland in the northeast, as well as gained a firm foothold in Egypt. France in the meantime had extended her colonial boundaries until she had in her sphere of influence the whole of Northwest Africa from Tunis to the Congo and from Senegal to Lake Chad. By 1896 she had also definitely captured and subdued the island of Madagascar.

All of these enormous concessions were for the time being made secure by a series of vital treaties. We have already remarked the agreement between England and Germany in 1890. An agreement between England and France a little later in the same year definitely sealed the English claim to Nigeria and the French claim to Madagascar. By a Franco-German agreement of 1894 the vague boundaries of the different protectorates of the Soudan region were definitely fixed and France so extended her influence to the east and south of Kamerun as to connect her vast section in the Soudan with that on the west coast. A final Anglo-French agreement of 1899 forced upon France the recognition of English claims to the region of the upper Nile, the British position being made

strong by reason of Kitchener's success in suppressing revolt. In return, however, for French recognition of her claims upon the Egyptian Soudan, England formally gave her approval to the vast region claimed for France by the Franco-German treaty of 1894.

This brief account has omitted mention of the Portuguese dominions of Angola and Portuguese East Africa, the Italian possessions in the North and on the east coast, and such a great self-governing country as Abyssinia. Enough has been said, however, to remind us that the great rivals in Central Africa have been England, France, and Germany. At the time of the outbreak of the war, of the 11,500,000 square miles on the continent of Africa France was in control of 4,400,000 square miles, Great Britain 3,700,000, Germany 931,000, Belgium 909,000, Portugal 794,000, and Spain 593,000. While France possessed the greatest number of square miles, her dominions included the Desert of Sahara; Great Britain was really in possession of the most promising tracts. Germany's possessions embraced one-twelfth of the continental area, and one-twelfth of a population rapidly approaching 200,000,000. From the strategically

placed German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, and Kamerun as firm bases, however, she aimed ultimately at a vast Central African Empire that would not only hold securely the great tract of the Belgian Congo, but dominate even Egypt and South Africa, while in the far northwest she would finally wrest Morocco from France. In other words, she dreamed of ruling four-sevenths of both the territory and the people of Africa. We might make this clearer by saying that, aside from her vision of dominating Central Europe, South America, Australia, and all of Asia except some unimportant tracts, in Africa alone Germany dreamed of possessing an empire that in extent would roughly compare with our own United States (exclusive of Alaska and the islands) in the ratio of 7 to 3. And let there be no doubt that this vast territory Germany was determined to have; it was absolutely necessary to have such a source for raw materials. Dr. Paul Leutwein, son of a former Governor of Southwest Africa, has said,* "If Central Europe comes to nothing, then we shall indeed have Central Africa. Central Europe, on

* For the two quotations we are indebted to the editor of the *National Geographic Magazine*, June, 1918, p. 565.

the other hand, without Central Africa, can not be contemplated for a moment;" and the official publication issued by the German commander at Lodz on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday, January 27, 1915, said: "A victorious war would give us the Belgian Congo, the French Congo, and, if Portugal continues to translate her hostile intentions toward us into actions, would also give us the Portuguese colonies on the east and west coasts of Africa. We should then have a colonial empire of which our fathers could never have dreamed."

We can now see how supremely significant was the taking of German East Africa and Southwest Africa in the present war. It meant nothing less than the shattering of Germany's vastest dream, one greater even than that of Mittel-Europa, and the seizure of a territory five hundred times as important as continental Belgium.

IV

SPECIAL PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

THE proper disposition of the German colonies, however, only opens up the whole tremendous problem that faces the statesmen who must determine the lines for the future development of Africa. Thirty-five years after the Berlin Congress the vast continent is thrown back upon the wisdom, the foresight, and the magnanimity of the civilized world; and upon the decision of mankind rests the destiny of millions of human beings yet unborn.

Let it be borne in mind that Africa offers not one but many problems. Social, economic, and religious questions are interwoven in bewildering array. Any attempt at solution, moreover, is complicated by the conception of the African that somehow obtains throughout Christendom and that is nothing more than a heritage from four hundred years of the enslavement of black men. Let one speak of the native African and

there rises all too frequently before the mind of the listener a picture of an untutored cannibal, savage and degraded. Of course such individuals are still to be found, and, in a country of such vast extent, found by the thousands. Such a conception, however, does no justice at all to the iron-workers and weavers of the South and West, to the aspiring Zulus, or to the African boy who, trained in a mission school, was able to act as interpreter for two Europeans who could not otherwise understand each other. We have to remember that in increasing numbers native Africans have had the benefit of European culture, and that those who are educated have begun to pass their ideals on to their less fortunate brothers. In other words, in all our planning for the new day in which Africa is no longer to be the Dark Continent, we must remember that we are planning not so much for Africans as for human beings, and that, while these people are largely backward, they still are entitled to the liberty and democracy of which we have heard so much and for the acid tests of which we must help to prepare them.

With this proviso we have then to face the peculiar difficulties in the situation. Those that

are social strike us at once. Here are, in a rough estimate, as many as two hundred languages and dialects to be considered in any large plan for the internationalizing of the continent. Moreover, many of these people, in spite of great devotion to family ties, are still living under a system that countenances polygamy. Here is a problem that calls for the utmost patience and tact. A chief, for instance, who might become converted to Christianity, naturally has some debate over the question of whether he is just in putting away all but one of his wives, especially when the women themselves, bound by custom, are frequently the strongest adherents of the system. Close to polygamy, of course, are various related vices, many of which are definitely encouraged by paganism.

It is in the sphere of religion, in fact, that many of the greatest difficulties are focused. The problem is now fourfold. First there is the conflict between Christianity and pure African paganism and superstition. This, however, soon merges into the sterner conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism. Great work is to be done here, for, as Prof. W. S. Naylor has said, "Islam has enough truth to palliate an easy-

going conscience and enough error to satisfy a corrupt heart." Moreover, a Mohammedan who passes over to another religion becomes practically ostracized by his former friends. In the third place there is division between the two great branches of Christianity, Catholic and Protestant, which in Africa as elsewhere have all too frequently faced each other as uncompromising foes. Finally, there is the Ethiopian Church Movement with the motto, "Africa for the Africans." Somewhat like the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States before the Civil War, this organization, primarily religious, because it furnishes the best opportunity for assembling has become enlarged into that one which best encourages racial ideals and native aspiration.

It will be observed that every one of these religious problems has been forced upon the native from the outside and by people who regarded themselves as more fortunate than he. But this is not all. As Christians have advanced in Africa—especially Boers and Englishmen and Germans—they have made it more and more difficult for the native African to have genuine economic opportunity. The personal

indignities and proscription and segregation imposed upon the natives surpass even the legislation of Southern states of the United States, and the latest land act seems designed to dispossess them almost entirely. Nothing whatever, however, has served to keep the unscrupulous trader from preying upon the native. Chief assistant of the whole iniquitous system of slavery was rum. Even within recent years the Christian nations of the West have annually sent along with their missionaries ten million gallons of liquor to aid in the civilizing of Africa. It was some years ago that Molique, King of Nupe, writing to Bishop Crowther, gave the following indictment of Christianity: "Barasa (rum or gin) has ruined our country. It has ruined our people very much. It has made our people mad. I agree to everything for trade except barasa. We *beg* Crowther, the great Christian minister, to *beg* the great priests to *beg* the English queen to prevent bringing barasa into this land. For God's sake he must help us in this matter. He must not leave us to become spoiled."*

* Quoted by W. S. Naylor in *Daybreak in the Dark Continent*, p. 127, from Jesse Page: *Samuel Crowther*.

Such are simply some of the more outstanding problems that have to be faced. On every hand arise delicate questions of local adjustment. In every case also the native is the chief factor to be considered, and the Ethiopian Movement can hardly be over-emphasized. India, like Egypt, has for years been restless under a foreign yoke, and it was the deed of a young Serbian that actually started the world conflagration. Africa, too, has her young idealistic class. An outstanding leader in the insurrection in German Southwest Africa in 1903 was Henry Witboi, a convert of the Rhenish Missionary Society, who felt that the time had come for the deliverance of his people from the control of white men. As Wendell Phillips reminded us years ago, such a spirit in a white man the world has been taught to call diplomacy, while in a black man it is called hypocrisy. While the world is getting straight, however, we may as well face it frankly. If generously handled, it may be turned to great account; but if the treatment is otherwise, untold strife is stored up for the future.

V

THE MEANING FOR AMERICA

AFRICA, then, is the great prize of the war. A vast continent, the second on the globe, and the last to yield to the influences of civilization, is now to be developed as never before. When the allied countries of Europe with the aid of America finally dictate terms at the council-board, it will be to Africa that they will primarily look for the raw material on which to base the rehabilitation of their empires. When that time comes they will have to remember the part played by the native African in the struggle for the salvation of the world. The disposition of this continent then becomes the greatest economic and political question to arise out of the present war and even in the twentieth century.

The problem becomes concrete by reason of the possession by the Allies of the German col-

onies in Africa. Everything looks toward some sort of international commission for the continent, and the discussion will, of course, be of supreme importance in the war settlement. The British Prime Minister said last winter that at present the German colonies are "held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies." A little later President Wilson spoke of "a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined." Naturally, the franker acknowledgment of native African aspiration by the Prime Minister has met with more cordial response in the native press than the more conservative statement of our own President. Both utterances, however, look to the future adjustment of the question.

Any disposition whatsoever of course takes it as understood that Africa is not longer to remain in savagery and isolation. After the war

the advance of science will demand the highest development of all the land on the globe, and the most luxuriant of all is not likely to be passed by. Before we consider further an international commission, however, it might be safe to remark one or two other solutions which have in one way or another been seriously proposed. One of these involves a practical reversion to the status existent before the war. This may be dismissed at once. The Allies will never consent to Germany's holding a corner-stone for the upbuilding of her dreamed-of African empire. When efforts are being made to curtail her economic advance it is not at all likely that she will be permitted to retain her great source of raw materials.* And this is just, for it is of course on an economic foundation that Germany has built her mad political visions and thus endangered the world. Again, the cry of Africa for the Africans has been raised. Just now,

* While these pages were being made ready for the press, Mr. Balfour, British foreign secretary, in a noteworthy address before representatives of Australia and New Zealand, October 23, 1918, declared that under no circumstances would it be consistent with the safety, security, and unity of the British Empire that Germany's colonies should be returned to her.

because this is in large measure the outgrowth of manly racial aspiration, it calls for tact and delicate handling. It must long remain a dream, however. Theoretically it is a grave question if the nations of Christendom would really be doing their duty if in the present state of world civilization they left this great continent to the natives who have neither the education nor the organization necessary for the momentous problems of democratic government. There are of course hundreds and even thousands of Africans who are educated or who are rapidly being educated; but there are also vast regions in which savagery still obtains, and if we take the population as a whole we find it altogether unready to wrestle with questions of the best form of government for themselves and their children's children. Even if such a settlement were theoretically sound, it is at present impracticable. After all they have won in this great continent and after all they have suffered in the war, it is not likely that England and France will voluntarily withdraw from Africa at any time in the near future or suffer such a disposition of the German colonies as would endanger themselves; nor will the United States expect them

to do so. Some generations hence the world may not unreasonably welcome into the family of nations some great self-governing Negro or Bantu states in Central Africa; but such a consummation could come only after education had had the freest possible play with the great mass of the population. If then Germany's colonies are not to be given back to her and if they are not at once to be self-governing, we come back to the idea of an international commission.

In this disposition by international tribunal we can not too much emphasize the need of careful planning for the future development of the natives of the continent. Too long has Africa been the prey of the powers. The horrors of two hundred and fifty years of the slave-trade are still to be recalled. Mutilated men and women are still to be seen in the Belgian Congo; and in South Africa, by Englishman and Boer alike, the native is daily subjected to the most grievous indignities prompted by race prejudice. It would be the crime of the ages if, after fighting the greatest war in history for the freedom of all people, and in the face of the supreme appeal to their chivalry, the foremost nations of the world should make of this sad

continent, so wonderful in its possibilities, the latest field for selfishness, exploitation and racial animosity. They must not do so. They will not.

We may then reasonably expect some form of an international protectorate over the German colonies. If, however, the Allies work together in the development of *some* colonies, they must necessarily work together more efficiently for the development of *all* colonies. In other words, England and France, the chief possessors, and America, whose aid really decided the war, will find themselves working together in colonization, missions, and education on a scale never before contemplated, for in the interest of economy all effort will be co-ordinated as much as possible. Aims will be similar, and the experience of one nation will help another. As a field for the working of the principle of internationalism the opportunity now afforded in Africa is unprecedented.

Again the native. What is it that the African needs more than anything else just now? Education, Christian education—the education given by missionaries, but also something broader than that, something that will not only

be thoroughly Christian but so adapted as to make the African an intelligent citizen in his commonwealth, trained in mechanics, farming, engineering, or even in the professions, especially medicine, as the case might require. Let the native but catch a vision of his possibilities and he will work with enthusiasm. But the era is not one for those who are futilely educated or who look for easy jobs. Africa has seen too many men of that sort already. What she now needs supremely is men who can apply what they know.

But who is actually to do the work? Strange are the workings of history. It so happens that America, the United States, that has no land at all in Africa, nevertheless has the workers so badly needed by her allies. With so much to be done at home, England and France will after the war find it extremely difficult to spare men for colonial service. Moreover, in spite of the merits of these powers in colonization, their men are hardly so well adapted for the task in hand as those who could bring to their work of teaching or farming or bridge-building the inspiring contact of closer racial interest. The American Negro, then, so long proscribed, sud-

denly looms up as one of the nation's most important assets. His record as a fighting-man is well known. Within the last three years he has very largely had to fill the gap made in industrial pursuits in the North by the sudden ceasing of immigration. To him now also Africa calls, calls for workers not by the scores, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands and tens of thousands. The demand is without parallel, the opportunity for the race impressive, and the duty resting upon England and America to train and marshal the workers absolutely imperative.

This leads us to inquire as to just what it is that is needed and just what are the facilities for the training of young men and women of the Negro race for a program of service of such magnitude. We need for this work teachers or directors who have had the most thorough, the most severe, the most exact training possible, and who are able to bring to their task the necessary philosophical outlook. We recall Bacon's distinction between truly learned men and those who are simply expert (that is, experienced in the mechanics of a given craft): "Expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of

particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned." This distinction needs to be made now. Not everybody who might apply could be used. Initiative, poise, resourcefulness, reliability, teaching ability, good health, and Christian spirit all become important assets. Possessing these, the worker must also be acquainted with his trade or profession from every angle. Only teachers, engineers, or physicians with such thorough training could do the work required.

Obviously efficient workers according to this standard could be found only among college graduates or those who have an equivalent of college work in normal or technical training. As we look over the schools in the South we find these sadly lacking in facilities for the work in hand. Too strong a line exists between the representative colleges and the industrial schools, when the task now imposed would call for a combination of the best features of both systems. No one of the colleges is adequately endowed even for its task with its American constituency, to say nothing of a great new demand; while the industrial schools are from

five to seven years below the standard. How, for instance, would a graduate from one of them compare with the graduate in electricity or engineering or chemistry from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology? And yet, for the work now to be done we need the standard of this institution.

The necessary agency might be found in one central training school, or in two or three of the best colleges so equipped in special departments as to give free play for the best technological features, or two or three of the industrial schools raised to the standard of the best colleges. In general, the present college student would in most cases have to make his training more thorough and learn to apply it better, while the industrial student would certainly have to lay a broader foundation in general culture.

It will be observed that we have not considered the matter simply from the missionary standpoint. In no case could this be ignored, but in its last analysis the problem is one not only in missions but also in world politics and general education.

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These were God's chosen people. Never did a nation wrong them but that the judgment of the Lord overtook it. England trafficked in them and lost the richest of her dominions. America enslaved them and bled through four years of civil war. The Boers oppressed them and lost their independence. Belgium mutilated them and witnessed her fields made desolate. Germany harassed them and the hour of her destiny struck twelve. Just because they are poor and untutored and unorganized, let us take warning for the future. "Woe unto the world because of offenses, for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh!"

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS

I

THE FREEDOM OF THE FREE

WHEN the people of Jehovah to the Prom-
ised Land would go,
They were given a valiant leader for the con-
flict with the foe;
But they wandered many weary years and
faced the raging sea,
Ere their children won the harvest of the
Freedom of the Free.

When the black men of the wilderness were
wanted of the Lord,
From America to Europe flashed the word with
one accord;
And the Christian nations hankered for the
glitter of the gain,
And the screaming of the eagle dulled the clank-
ing of the chain.

But the captive on the slaver's deck beneath
the lightning's flash—
Unto him were only scourging and the stinging
of the lash;
But such things as these must be, they say,
and such the pruning be,
Ere our children win the harvest of the Freedom
of the Free.

Far across the deep Atlantic speeds the vessel
on its way,
And the nights are wild with weeping and the
days with tempests gray,
Till at length within the glory of the dawn
the shore appears,
And the slave takes up the battle and the
burden of the years.

In the fury of the auction runs the clamor on
and on:
“Going! Going! Who bids higher? Going!
Going! Going! Gone!”
And the mocking-bird is singing, and the lilies
dance in glee,
And the slave alone is sighing for the Freedom
of the Free.

Now the wide plantation shimmers in the fresh-
ness of the morn,
And the dusky workers scatter in the cotton
and the corn,
With the problem of the ages in the yearning
of their eyes,
While the slave whip sings forever underneath
the azure skies.

In the silence of the night and from the weird
assembled throng
Comes the beauty and the wailing of the dirge
and Sorrow Song:
“I’ve been listenin’ all the night long for to
hear some sinner pray;
I’ve been waitin’ all the night long for the
breakin’ of the day.”

Till at length from Maine to Mexico peals out
the trumpet blast,
And a wild expectant nation at the fury stands
aghast;
While the young men in their glory feel the
fever of the fight,
And the blood drops of the firstborn stain the
doorposts in the night.

In the crimson of the carnage, in the deluge of
the flame,
Come the black men to the trenches for the
honor and the name;
And they sell their life-blood dearly for Human-
ity's decree
That their sons should have the fullness of the
Freedom of the Free.

Now a nation's second birthday blossoms from
the gloom of night,
And a people stands bewildered at the dawning
of the light;
But the untried hands are willing, and the
hearts are ever true
To the call of home and country and the faith
the fathers knew.

But the tempter whispers ever with monotonous
refrain
That the struggle and the striving and the
faith are all in vain;
But from woodland, sea, and mountain peak
th' eternal years reply:
"Better strive and fight like brave men than
like cowards yield and die."

Let us heed no tale of Anak or Philistine in
the land;

Let us hear the word from Sinai and Jehovah's
high command;

Worship not the Golden Calf nor unto Baal
bend the knee,

That our sons may rise triumphant in the
Freedom of the Free.

II

WYCLIFFE AND THE WORLD WAR

IT is now six hundred years since John Wycliffe was born. The exact centenary will occur in 1920, or perhaps as much as four years later—nobody knows when. What we do know, however, is that this man seems to have held within himself the key to every great thought or noble impulse that has moved the world in modern times, and that to-day we are more than ever working toward the realization of his dreams.

Few great figures stand out on the page of history in such absolute loneliness. His early years are a blank, and the student of his life is impressed by a strange absence of family connections. We know that he spent his best years in the tradition of Oxford and that he became incomparably skilled in dialectic. He was Master of Balliol, formed for a season a

political alliance with John of Gaunt, and had some large part in the translation of the Bible that bears his name; but of the man himself we know almost nothing. Of personal interests he seems to have had almost none. He wrote thousands and thousands of pages, but always objectively—about the Papacy, the relations of Church and State, the Eucharist, but never about himself. His friends, those that he had, were bound to him primarily by an intellectual kinship. Ever was he the seer—the teacher, aloof from those he instructed. His very theory of liberty is more like the philosophical ideal of the French than the emotional impulse for freedom in America. Nevertheless he still remains the greatest exponent of liberty in the history of England; and the superlative is used advisedly.

He was ahead of his age and yet intensely of it. Professor Kittredge has reminded us* of the peculiar “modernness” of the time into which he was thrown. The mature years of the reformer were cast in a period remarkable even in the history of England for the far-reaching effect of its events. Into the decade between

* *Chaucer and his Poetry*, 1-5.

1375 and 1385 fell the work of the "Good Parliament," noteworthy for its original use of the power of impeachment; the death of the Black Prince, with all the politics attending that event; the Great Schism in the Papacy; the Peasants' Revolt; Wycliffe's three trials and his translation of the Bible. Almost every great social question that agitates us to-day was under discussion in 1382. It was an age of intense activity, of labor troubles, of change in the art of war, of radicalism in religion, of imperialism in Church and State, and even of "trouble in the Balkans." We cite just one instance of the liberalism of the period, the spirit of Oxford that did so much to make Wycliffe's resistance possible. When the reformer had incurred the disfavor of Gregory XI, the University was enjoined "for the future not to permit to be asserted or proposed to any extent whatever, the opinions, conclusions, and propositions which are at variance with good morals and faith," and to have "the said John" arrested and sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to the Bishop of London. The congregation, however, voted that it was illegal to arrest an English subject on the authority

of a papal bull, "since that would be giving the Pope lordship and regal power in England."

Such an attitude was not altogether new, of course, nor was Wycliffe himself an unheralded phenomenon. Even his opposition to the orthodox position on transubstantiation had been anticipated, if not in England, on the continent at least, by Berengar of Tours as early as the middle of the eleventh century. His general questioning attitude, however, toward the function of the Papacy, his opposition to the exemption of ecclesiastical persons from lay control, and his insistence on the injury done to the clergy by its great wealth and by the abuse of the power of excommunication for political reasons, are to be accounted for only by the character and genius of the English people. From the reign of William I to that of Richard II history shows a series of contests or opinions that not only accounted for the parson of Lutterworth, but that are so interwoven that it is difficult to say where the influence of one ends and that of another begins. Outstanding as a forerunner of course was Grosseteste, who even in the thirteenth century was able to summon the great heart of England in his opposition to

the "dispensations, provisions, and collations" of the Papacy; but Grosseteste was followed by Occam and Fitzralph and Bradwardine.

Even with such a tradition as this, however, what was it that impelled Wycliffe to take the advanced position he did? What was it that led him to risk not only his standing but his life, and not only his life but his final appeal to history, on the issues of liberty and democracy? Nothing less than his unbounded faith in humanity. The root of the social question in his day was of course the economic problem; and this went back to the position of the Church, the greatest landholder in the world. First of all the Church had moved under the fine inspiration of a new faith. There was struggle; there was suffering. After three hundred years of the Christian era, however, such were its organization and its universality of appeal that it ceased to be on the defensive and became the state religion. Three centuries more, and we witness it full blown as a great political institution. It dominated council-boards and kings. It grew rich. Men and women came into the fold, bringing their worldly possessions with them. Sometimes scores of slaves, or hundreds,

would be given or won with a great estate. What then did the Church become, in France, in England, but the greatest of feudal lords? And all the while of course it was exempt from taxation. What chance had the small farmer against such a competitor?

Side by side with the Church developed the aristocratic institution of chivalry. Knights went on the Crusades; and the Church, Feudalism, and Chivalry became indissolubly linked in the domination respectively of the religious, the economic, and the social life of the Western world. Never was an ideal more limited than that of chivalry. The knight might fight valiantly to win the rewards of courtly love; but for the worker in the fields he cared not at all. Ladyhood meant everything to him, womanhood little or nothing; and such were the ideals that dominated England for hundreds of years.

All of this Wycliffe saw. The hypocrisy, the hollowness, of it all, none knew better than he. He saw the Church dole out its pittance of charity to the hundreds of its poor when it really made paupers by the thousands. He knew that, wittingly or unwittingly, it was

making for the degradation of the individual, and he knew, too, that no great landholding, slave-driving institution could be truly representative of the Christ. Unless the very theory of the divine right of the Pope could be undermined, he saw no hope for the slave. The images in the church, the candlesticks, the pilgrimages to the tombs of saints—all these things came to savor of idolatry to him. He might not have been the real inspirer of the rude rhymes of John Ball, but he certainly sympathized with them. How can we wonder that he recoiled at the idea that any drunken priest could by a word manufacture the body of Christ?

At any rate, he set himself against all the tradition of his age. When he formulated his theory of Church and State, the religious dignitaries frowned. When he molded his ideas for the reforming of the Church itself, the Pope commanded that he be silenced. When he moved still further to an attack on dogma, even the common people considered him blasphemous, though they then understood him least of all. He was willing to suffer, however, even when those whom he sought to help could not understand him—and this not sim-

ply on the narrow basis of patriotism, for he was soon at war with Urban VI as well as Clement VII.

Something of all that was wrong in the world the great Dante had seen and felt a hundred years before. In Wycliffe's own day Gower wrote his "*Vox Clamantis*," Langland cried in the wilderness, and Chaucer realized that the times were out of joint. Chaucer, however, refused to wear his heart on his sleeve, shrugged his shoulders, and laughed himself into the second class of poets. But ever since the fourteenth century the question has been revived: Do we really believe in democracy, in the full freedom of all men and women, and are we willing to act on our belief?

The question was a vital one throughout the nineteenth century. Macaulay placed himself squarely on the side of the people, and Carlyle as sturdily represented the opposition. Garrison and Phillips and Sumner believed in the possibilities of the slave even before he had learned to believe in himself; and into the Civil War fell the great issue of democracy like that of free labor, free speech, and every other great question of politics or society. Professor W. E.

Dodd has recently shown us* how the social philosophy of the old South gradually crystallized into that of an aristocracy that had to be defended at all costs, by churchmen and statesmen alike. In such a society Walter Scott naturally became the most popular author, for he best portrayed the snobbery that masqueraded under the name of chivalry. The whole system was built on one great fallacy, the denial of the freedom of the human soul. Not all men were to rule or vote, but only those owning property. Not all were to be educated at the public expense, while "hard labor was for those whose hands were hard." Thus was developed in the nineteenth century in the greatest republic in the world a feudalism that was from the standpoint of the serf quite as hopeless as that of the Middle Ages. Naturally it left a long train of abuses; but worst of all were the prejudices and fallacies that it left in men's minds. Even to-day some politicians and writers bewail the so-called grave error that forced Negro suffrage on the South, when there was no other logical course out of the dilemma. Ignorance and lack of culture might be temporary; a few years of

* *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1918.

training could remedy them: but the principles on which the American republic was founded were to be eternal. This Sumner saw, and this Wycliffe would have seen had he been living in 1865.

By the end of the Civil War, however, other grave social questions had already forced themselves on the attention of the American people. The great stream of European immigration had set in. By the tens, then the hundreds of thousands, and then at the rate of a million a year, we saw the poorer folk of Europe clasping America as the Promised Land. Before long the oppressed Jew, the unhappy Pole, and the Southern Italian, as well as the ignorant Negro, had become a very vital part of our population. The older inhabitants glanced at the "scum of the earth" and moved uptown. More and more, however, the newcomers gained a footing, and they very nearly took possession of both Boston and New York. "Out where the West begins," however, in Chicago—raw, noisy, material, but soulful Chicago—the work of Americanization went forward. Somehow a little more than in the East the immigrant developed hope. His son became a man of business;

his daughter graduated from the University. The development, however, was not to be unhampered. The agitator was present, the first faith in the new country was sometimes undermined, and Chicago became the home of industrial unrest.

To-day we stand at the parting of the ways. The Germany that we fight is the very incarnation of autocracy—of medievalism. For the freedom of the individual soul for which Wycliffe labored there is no place at all under a power that grinds everything under the crushing heel of militarism. That in any great civilized country to-day the ruler should actually work upon the theory of the divine right of kings is the most stupendous phenomenon in the world. Even Germany's philosophers have shown us that they are not free to do their own thinking. As we go forth to meet such a power—to shatter such a philosophy—we need a faith in humanity, in the ultimate destiny of the republic, greater than the bounds of any mere race or section. The Revolution gave us independence; the Civil War gave us freedom; the great war now upon us is to make us a nation. Sometimes people are not so clean, so refined, so learned,

as we are; but a little sympathy, a little patriotism, a little tact and intelligence can work wonders. Nothing now will serve for the new issues but insight, patience, and a genuine conception of democracy. As our sons or our brothers fight or fall in France, the same flag is over all; its folds are broad enough to cover all. It knows no longer Anglo-Saxons, or Italians, or Negroes, or Jews, but Americans—Americans working toward one end—the assurance of democracy, the triumph of human freedom, the salvation of mankind.

This is the message of Wycliffe to a nation and a world at war.

III

LORENZO DOW *

THIS is the record of a remarkable and eccentric man who devoted himself to a life of singular labor and self-denial. In any consideration of the South one could not avoid giving at least passing notice to Lorenzo Dow as the foremost itinerant preacher of his time, as the first Protestant who expounded the gospel

* Very little has been written about Lorenzo Dow. There is an article by Emily S. Gilman in the *New England Magazine*, Vol. 20, p. 411 (June, 1899), and also one by J. H. Kennedy in the *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 7, p. 162. The present paper is based mainly upon the following works: (1) "Biography and Miscellany," published by Lorenzo Dow, Norwich, Conn., 1834; (2) "History of Cosmopolite;" or "The Four Volumes of Lorenzo Dow's Journal concentrated in one, containing his Experience and Travels," Wheeling, 1848; (3) "The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil; as exemplified in the Life, Experience, and Travels of Lorenzo Dow," 2 vols. in one. With an Introductory Essay by the Rev. John Dowling, D.D., of New York. Cincinnati, 1858. The present paper first appeared in the shape of two articles in the *Methodist Review* and the *Journal of Negro History*.

in Alabama and Mississippi, and as a reformer who at the very moment when cotton was beginning to be supreme, presumed to tell the South that slavery was wrong.

He arrests attention—this gaunt, restless preacher. With his long hair—his flowing beard, his harsh voice, and his wild gesticulation, he was so rude and unkempt as to startle all conservative hearers. Said one of his opponents: “His manners (are) clownish in the extreme; his habit and appearance more filthy than a savage Indian, his public discourses a mere rhapsody, the substance often an insult upon the gospel.” Said another as to his preaching in Richmond: “Mr. Dow’s clownish manners, his heterodox and schismatic proceedings, and his reflections against the Methodist Episcopal Church, in a late production of his on church government, are impositions on common sense, and furnish the principal reasons why he will be discountenanced by the Methodists.”

But he was made in the mold of heroes. In his lifetime he traveled not less than two hundred thousand miles, preaching to more people than any other man of his time. He went from New England to the extremities of the Union

in the West again and again. Several times he went to Canada, once to the West Indies, and three times to England, everywhere drawing great crowds about him. Friend of the oppressed, he knew no path but that of duty. Evangel to the pioneer, he again and again left the haunts of men to seek the western wilderness. Conversant with the Scriptures, intolerant of wrong, witty and brilliant, he assembled his hearers by the thousands. What can account for so unusual a character? What were the motives that prompted this man to so extraordinary and laborious a life?

Lorenzo Dow was born October 16, 1777, in Coventry, Tolland County, Connecticut. When not yet four years old, he tells us, one day while at play he "suddenly fell into a muse about God and those places called heaven and hell." Once he killed a bird and was horrified for days at the act. Later he won a lottery prize of nine shillings and experienced untold remorse. An illness at the age of twelve gave him the shortness of breath from which he suffered more and more throughout his life. About this time he dreamed that the Prophet Nathan came to him and told him that he would live only until he

was two-and-twenty. When thirteen he had another dream, this time of an old man, John Wesley, who showed to him the beauties of heaven and held out the promise that he would win if he was faithful to the end. A few years afterwards came to the town Hope Hull, preaching "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners"; and Lorenzo said: "I thought he told me all that ever I did." The next day the future evangelist was converted.

But he was to be no ordinary Christian, this Lorenzo. Not satisfied with his early baptism, he had the ceremony repeated, and with twelve others formed a society for mutual watch and helpfulness. At the age of eighteen he had still another dream, this time seeing a brittle thread in the air suspended by a voice saying, "Woe unto you if you preach not the gospel." Then Wesley himself appeared again to him in a dream and warned him to set out at once upon his mission.

The young candidate applied to the Connecticut Conference of the Methodist Church. He met with a reception that would have

daunted any man less courageous. He best tells the story himself: "My brethren sent me home. Warren and Greenwich circuits, in Rhode Island, were the first of my career. I obeyed, but with a sorrowful heart. Went out a second time to New Hampshire, but sent home again; I obeyed. Afterwards went to Conference by direction—who rejected me, and sent me home again; and again I obeyed. Was taken out by P. W. on to Orange circuit, but in 1797 was sent home again; so in obedience to man I went home a fourth time."

As a matter of fact there was much in the argument of the church against Lorenzo Dow at this time. The young preacher was not only ungraceful and ungracious in manner, but he had severe limitations in education and frequently assumed toward his elders an air needlessly arrogant and contemptuous. On the other hand he must reasonably have been offended by the advice so frequently given him in gratuitous and patronizing fashion. However, soon after the last rebuff just recorded, he says, on going out on the Granville circuit, "The Lord gave me souls for my hire." Again making application to the Conference, he was

admitted on trial for the first time in 1798 and sent to Canada to break fresh ground. He was not satisfied with the unpromising field and wrote, "My mind was drawn to the water, and Ireland was on my mind." His great desire was to preach the gospel to the Roman Catholics beyond the sea. Accordingly, on his twenty-second birthday, acting solely on his own resources, the venturesome evangelist embarked at Montreal for Dublin. Here he had printed three thousand handbills to warn the people of the wrath to come. He attracted some attention, but soon caught the smallpox and was forced to return home. Back in America, he communicated to the Conference his desire to "travel the country at large." The church, not all impressed in his favor by his going to Ireland on his own accord, would do nothing more than admit him to his old status of being on trial, with appointment to the Dutchess, Columbia, and Litchfield circuits. Depressed, Dow gave up the work, and, desiring a warmer climate, he turned his face toward the South. From this time forth, while he constantly exhibited a willingness to meet the church half way, he consistently acted with all possible in-

dependence, and the church as resolutely set its face against him.

Dow landed in Savannah in January, 1802. This was his first visit to the region that was to mean so much to him and in whose history he himself was to play so interesting a rôle. He walked on foot for hundreds of miles in Georgia and South Carolina, everywhere preaching the gospel to all classes alike. Returning to the North, he found that once more he could not come to terms with his conference. He went back to the South, going now by land for the first time. He went as far as Mississippi, then the wild southwestern frontier, and penetrated far into the country of Indians and wolves. Returning, in 1804 he became one of the first evangelists to cultivate the camp-meeting as an institution in central Virginia. Then he threw down the gauntlet to established Methodism, daring to speak in Baltimore while the General Conference of the church was in session there. The church replied at once, the New York Conference passing a law definitely commanding its churches to shut their doors against him.

A new interest, however, now entered into the life of Lorenzo Dow. In courtship he was as

unconventional as in everything else. One day while tarrying at a Methodist tavern in Weston, New York, he heard that Peggy, the sister-in-law of the tavern-keeper, was resolved never to be married except to a preacher who continued traveling. Lorenzo saw the comely young woman and the rest of the story is best given in his own words: "When going away I observed to her that I was going to the warm countries, where I had never spent a warm season, and it was probable I should die, as the warm climate destroys most of those who go there from a cold country; but, said I, if I am preserved, about a year and a half from now I am in hopes of seeing this northern country again, and if during this time you live and remain single, and find no one that you like better than me, and would be willing to give me up twelve months out of thirteen, or three years out of four, to travel, and that in foreign lands, and never say, Do not go to your appointment, etc.—for if you should stand in my way I should pray God to remove you, which I believe he would answer—and if I find no one that I like better than I do you, perhaps something further may be said upon the subject; and

finding her character to stand fair, I took my departure." After an absence of nearly two years Dow returned, late in 1804. He insisted upon a speedy marriage. Contrary to what one might expect from such an unusual beginning, the union was a very happy one. Always faithful to duty, Dow nevertheless cherished for his wife a very deep and genuine love. He was at no time satisfied to leave her behind, as he had warned her that he might do. She became the constant companion of his wanderings. In the spring of 1805 she went abroad with him, and their only child, a girl, Lætitia Johnson, was born and died in Great Britain. For fifteen years Peggy inspired her husband, without a murmur enduring all hardship with him, until she died at Hebron, Connecticut, in 1820. Then there came a day when in an open-air sermon under the great elm on Bean Hill Green at Norwich, Dow extolled the virtues of his former companion and at the end of his sermon asked, "Is there any one in this congregation willing to take the place of my departed Peggy?" Up rose Lucy Dolbeare from Montville, six feet high, and said, "I will." Whether Lorenzo and Lucy had previously arranged this dramatic

proceeding we do not know. We do know, however, that she too made a loyal companion, surviving her husband for several years.

About the time of his first marriage Dow was very busy, speaking at from five hundred to eight hundred meetings a year. In the year 1805, in spite of the inconveniences of those days, he traveled ten thousand miles. Then he made ready to go again to Europe. Everything possible was done by the regular church to embarrass him on this second visit, and when he arrived in England he found the air far from cordial. He did succeed in introducing his camp-meetings into the country, however; and, although the Methodist Conference registered the opinion that such meetings were "highly improper in England," Dow prolonged his stay and planted seed which, as we shall see, was later to bear abundant fruit. Returning to America, the evangelist set out upon one of the most memorable periods of his life, journeying from New England to Florida in 1807, from Mississippi to New England and through the West in 1808, through Louisiana in 1809, through Georgia and North Carolina and back to New England in 1810, spending 1811 for the

most part in New England, working southward to Virginia in 1812, and spending 1813 and 1814 in the Middle and Northern states, where the public mind was "darkened more and more against him." More than once he was forced to engage in controversy. Typical was the judgment of the Baltimore Conference in 1809, when, in a matter of difference between Dow and one Mr. S., without Dow's having been seen, opinion was given to the effect that Mr. S. "had given satisfaction" to the conference. Some remarks of Dow's on "Church Government" were seized upon as the excuse for the treatment generally accorded him by the church. In spite of much hostile opinion, however, Dow seems always to have found firm friends in the state of North Carolina. In 1818 a paper in Raleigh spoke of him as follows: "However his independent way of thinking, and his unsparing candor of language may have offended others, he has always been treated here with the respect due to his disinterested exertions, and the strong powers of mind which his sermons constantly exhibit."

His hold upon the masses was remarkable. No preacher so well as he understood the heart

of the pioneer. In a day when the “jerks,” and falling and rolling on the ground, and dancing still accompanied religious emotion, he still knew how to give to his hearers, whether bond or free, the wholesome bread of life. Frequently he inspired an awe that was almost superstitious and made numerous converts. Sometimes he would make appointments a year beforehand and suddenly appear before a waiting congregation like an apparition. At Montville, Connecticut, a thief had stolen an axe. In the course of a sermon Dow said that the guilty man was in the congregation and had a feather on his nose. At once the right man was detected by his trying to brush away the feather. On another occasion Dow denounced a rich man who had recently died. He was tried for slander and imprisoned in the county jail. As soon as he was released he announced that he would preach about “another rich man.” Going into the pulpit at the appointed time, he began to read: “And there was another rich man who died and—.” Here he stopped and after a breathless pause he said, “Brethren, I shall not mention the place this rich man went to, for fear he has some relatives in this congregation

who will sue me." The effect was irresistible; but Dow heightened it by taking another text, preaching a most dignified sermon, and not again referring to the text on which he had started.

Dow went again to England in 1818. He was not well received by the Calvinists or the Methodists, and of course not by the Episcopalians; but he found that his camp-meeting idea had begun twelve years before a new religious sect, that of the Primitive Methodists, commonly known as "ranterers." The society in 1818 was several thousand strong, and Dow visited between thirty and forty of its chapels. Returning home he resumed his itineraries, going in 1827 as far west as Missouri. In thinking of this man's work in the West we must keep constantly in mind of course the great difference made by a hundred years. In Charleston in 1821 he was arrested for "an alleged libel against the peace and dignity of the state of South Carolina." His wife went north, as it was not known but that he might be detained a long time; but he was released on payment of a fine of one dollar. In Troy also he was once arrested on a false pretense. At length, however,

he rejoiced to see his enemies defeated. In 1827 he wrote: "Those who instigated the trouble for me at Charleston, South Carolina, or contributed thereto, were all cut off within the space of three years, except Robert Y. Hayne, who was then the Attorney-General for the state, and is now the Governor for the *nullifiers*."

In his later years Dow was interested not only in the salvation of sinners but also in saving his country from what he honestly believed to be the dangers of Roman Catholicism. The Jesuits he regarded as the stern foes of pure religion and republican government. Even in Africa to-day the issue that he foresaw is important. This rugged pioneer was also the staunch opponent of slavery. He was as outspoken a champion of freedom as lived in America in his day. Said he: "Pride and vainglory on the one side, and degradation and oppression on the other creates on the one hand a spirit of contempt, and on the other a spirit of hatred and revenge"; and further: "Slavery in the South is an evil that calls for national reform and repentance," a "national scourge" yet to be "antidoted" before the gathering and bursting of the storm. He was cordial in his relations

with Negroes, was pleased to accept their hospitality, and on one occasion in Savannah, when Andrew Bryan, the well-known Negro minister of the city, had because of his preaching been imprisoned and submitted to other indignities, himself preached to the waiting and anxious congregation. His Journal closes with these remarkable words: "Where I may be this time twelve months, is very uncertain with me; whether in England, Sierra Leone, in Africa, West Indies, or New England—or eternity; but the controversy with the nations is not over, nor will be, until the Divine government is reverentially acknowledged by the human family."

The year 1833 Dow spent in visiting various places in New York. His last tour was through the Cumberland and Wyoming valleys in Pennsylvania. He hoped to be able to address Congress and to warn the members against the Jesuits, but was prevented by failing health. In 1833 he wrote in his Journal:

I am now in my fifty-sixth year in the journey of life; and enjoy better health than when but 30 or 35 years old, with the exception of the callous in my breast, which at times gives me great pain. . . . The dealings of God to me-ward,

have been good. I have seen his delivering hand, and felt the inward support of his grace, by faith and hope, which kept my head from sinking when the billows of affliction seemed to encompass me around. . . . And should those hints exemplified in the experience of Cosmopolite be beneficial to any one, give God the glory. Amen and Amen! Farewell!

He died at Georgetown, D. C., February 2, 1834, and rests under a simple slab in Oak Hill Cemetery in Washington.


There is only one word to describe the writings of Lorenzo Dow—Miscellanies. Anything whatsoever that came to the evangelist's mind was set down, not always with good form, though frequently with witty and forceful expression. Here are "Hints to the Public, or Thoughts on the Fulfilment of Prophecy in 1811"; "A Journey from Babylon to Jerusalem," with a good deal of sophomoric discussion of natural and moral philosophy; "A Dialogue between the Curious and the Singular," with some discussion of religious societies and theological principles; "Chain of Lorenzo," an argument on the eternal sonship of Christ; "Omni-farious Law Exemplified: How to Curse and Swear, Lie, Cheat and Kill according to Law";

“Reflections on the Important Subject of Matrimony,” and much more of the same sort. Just now, however, we are especially interested in the utterances against slavery, and those that we may read show Lorenzo Dow to have been as outspoken a champion of freedom as lived in America in his day.

In “Hints to the Public” warning is given that the world must be redeemed before the second coming of Christ. America has her sins just as well as the rest of the world. “Slavery in the South, and religious establishments in the North, are National Evils, that call for national reform and repentance.”

“Strictures on Church Government” has already been referred to as bringing upon Dow the wrath of the Methodist Church. The general thesis of this publication, regarded at the time as so sensational, is that the Methodist mode of church government is the most arbitrary and despotic of any in America, with the possible exception of that of the Shakers. Dow questions the far-reaching authority of Bishops Coke, Asbury, and McKendree, and accuses Asbury of being jealous of the rising power of Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist

Church. He refers at considerable length to the incident in a Philadelphia church which ultimately made Absalom Jones a rector and Richard Allen a bishop: "The colored people were considered by some persons as being in the way. They were resolved to have them removed, and placed around the walls, corners, etc.; which to execute, the above expelled and restored man, at prayer time, did attempt to pull Absolem Jones from his knees, which procedure, with its concomitants, gave rise to the building of an African meeting house, the first ever built in these middle or northern states."

"A Cry from the Wilderness—Intended as a Timely and Solemn Warning to the People of the United States" is in every way one of Dow's most characteristic works. At this distance, when slavery and the Civil War are viewed in the perspective, the mystic words of the oracle impress one as almost uncanny: "In the rest of the southern states the influence of these Foreigners will be known and felt in its time, and the seeds from the HORY ALLIANCE and the DECAPIGANDI, who have a hand in those grades of GENERALS, from the INQUISITOR to the Vicar General and down . . . !!!  The STRUG-

GLE will be DREADFUL! the CUP will be BITTER! and when the agony is over, those who survive may see better days! FAREWELL!"

Here at least was a man with a mission—that mission to carry the gospel of Christ to the uttermost parts of the earth. He knew no standard but that of duty; he heeded no command but that of his own soul. Rude, and sharp of speech he was, and only half-educated; but he was made of the stuff of heroes; and neither hunger, nor cold, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, could daunt him in his task. After the lapse of a hundred years he looms larger, not smaller, in the history of our Southland; and as of old we seem to hear again "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord."

IV

THOMAS CARLYLE, THE NEGRO QUESTION, AND THE PRESENT WORLD PROBLEM

THOMAS CARLYLE has a unique place in the history of English thought. In an age dominated by liberal impulses, more than any other man in his country he protested against the spirit of reform. Professedly an ardent disciple of liberty, and universally recognized as a seer and prophet, he stands out on the page of history as a reactionary surpassed in his own time only by Metternich. In connection with the great events of our own day he is revealed ever more plainly as the first great exponent of the theories that entered into the making of modern Germany and that have become so well known the world over.

In an age of great minds Carlyle found himself strangely out of sympathy with his contemporaries. In 1824, much maligned after a

period of flattery, and for nine years practically an exile from England, Byron ended his career in a blaze of glory at Missolonghi. There was something in the death of the brilliant poet that struck the popular imagination of Europe. It mattered not that he died of a fever instead of on the field of battle; a great poet had given his life for the independence of Greece, and that was enough for an age of idealism. Byron's real successor was a woman, Elizabeth Barrett Browning. The life of this famous writer was one great heart-throb. She followed with eagerness the great social reforms in England in the reign of William IV, writing such a poem as "The Cry of the Children"; and in her later years she threw herself heart and soul into the cause of Italian independence and liberty. Her political judgment was not always sound; her distinguished husband, for instance, could not possibly follow her in her admiration for Napoleon III, whom he regarded as a charlatan; nevertheless the great heart of Elizabeth Barrett Browning was ever moved by the demands of freedom, whether the immediate impulse was a child in the factories of England, an Italian wishing to be free of Austria, or a

slave in the lowlands of America. She too struck the popular imagination by dying in a foreign country which was struggling for liberty and to which she had given so much of her best love. One of those whom she defended as occasion offered was the exiled Victor Hugo. Such a novel as *L'Homme qui Rit*, or the still greater *Les Misérables*, may not be impeccable in form, but must ever stand out as a sterling effort to voice the soul of the oppressed. The whole of Europe was interested in the story of the great poet and patriot who felt himself honored by the ill will of Napoleon III. There were others also. Dickens wrote *Oliver Twist* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, pleading for the oppressed at the same time that he was overthrowing the tradition of Scott. Macaulay, the son of an abolitionist, placed himself squarely on the side of the Whigs and reform. Across the ocean Wendell Phillips was outstanding as an idealist in the years that cultivated not one but many strong friends for freedom. On the continent the names of Mazzini and Kossuth are synonymous with the struggles of their countrymen.

In striking contrast to such figures as these stood Carlyle. One cannot understand him

without taking into account his sturdy inheritance. He possessed to his dying day a certain independence that, strangely enough, made him not so much value liberty for the ordinary man in the street as place a premium on the one who was able successfully to rule others. As Mr. Chesterton says in his stimulating book on the Victorian Age in Literature, "as an ordinary lowland peasant he inherited the really valuable historic property of the Scots, their independence, their fighting spirit, and their instinctive philosophic consideration of men merely as men." Something of this independence doubtless accounted for the reserve, the aloofness, that always characterized him. At Edinburgh he mingled little with his fellow-students, and he despised the university's system of education. Six years he spent on the barren fields of Craigenputtoch; and even when he moved down to London he cultivated only a few distinctly intellectual acquaintances. Such a man might have a few friends, and these unusually firm ones; but he would not have many friends, nor would he find place for much sympathy with the great mass of people. From his study society is seen more and more as in a mirror. Only

the strong man can stand out in the perspective; the people are largely an abstraction and do not count.

Another strong influence to be observed in any consideration of Carlyle is that of German culture. An early reading of Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* first strongly directed his attention to the poets and dramatists of Germany; he drew something of his transcendentalism from Novalis, and much of his political inspiration from Fichte. He wrote a life of Schiller, a laborious study of Frederick the Great, and edited the letters and speeches of Cromwell, the most German of Englishmen. Especially did he acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Goethe. The very name of this great poet, however, reveals his shortcomings. He was singularly lacking in Goethe's breadth. With his clear vision and his fine sense of proportion as well as by his innate genius, Goethe has become one of the first figures in the history and the thought of the human race. Carlyle, however, with his dyspepsia, his glorification of force—we might almost say his misanthropy—while sometimes he rose to the majesty of the seer, for the most part exhibited a lack of that

proportion which comes only from a sure conception of the scientific spirit.

We need not be astonished then at the system of thought that he worked out. In 1839 appeared his powerful tract on Chartism, in which he definitely took his stand against the liberalism that was becoming ever more popular in his day. "I am not a Tory," he said; "no, but one of the deepest though perhaps the quietest of radicals." As Dr. J. G. Robertson has pointed out, however, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, "the only radicalism, as it now seemed to him, which would avail against the ills and cankers of the day was the hand of the just, strong man. The salvation of the working-classes was not to be attained by political enfranchisement and the dicta of political economists, but by reverting to the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the laborer was still a serf. The freedom of the workingman was a delusion; it meant only freedom to be sucked out in the labor market, freedom to be a greater slave than he had ever been before." The natural successor to *Chartism* in such a line of thinking was the series of lectures delivered the next year, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. We are now

no longer left in doubt about the prophet's guiding principle: "In all epochs of the world's history, we shall find the Great Man to have been the indispensable savior of his epoch;—the lightning, without which the fuel would never have burnt. The History of the World is the Biography of Great Men." Herohood, however, has a distinctively German quality: "Virtue, *Vir-tus*, manhood, *herohood*, is not fair-spoken immaculate regularity; it is, first of all, what the Germans well name it, *Tugend* (*Tau-gend*, *dow-ing* or *Dough-tiness*), Courage and the Faculty to do. This basis of the matter Cromwell had in him." In the *Latter Day Pamphlets* of 1850, largely a reaction from the revolutions of 1848, the apologist for force stood fully revealed; and he now lost the friendship of one of the purest of souls, Mazzini.

If Carlyle so glorified the man of brute strength, he could not be otherwise than dissatisfied with an age that advocated reforms. With science, with political economy, with democracy, he had no sympathy; and nothing was more obnoxious to him than the thought of rule by a majority. In his Edinburgh paper, "Signs of the Times," he inveighed against the

age in which he was living somewhat as follows: "It is the age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word; the age which with its whole undivided might, forwards, teaches, and practises the great art of adapting means to ends. Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance. For the simplest operation, some helps and accompaniments, some cunning, abbreviated process is in readiness. The living artisan is driven from his workshop, to make room for a speedier, inanimate one." Carlyle sneers as he sees something of the principle carried over into spiritual realms: "Every little sect among us, Unitarians, Utilitarians, Anabaptists, Phrenologists, must each have its periodical, its monthly or quarterly magazine,—hanging out, like its windmill, into the *popularis aura*, to grind meal for the society." Further, "the whole discontent of Europe takes this direction. The deep, strong cry of all civilized nations—a cry which every one now sees, must and will be answered—is, Give us a reform of Government! A good structure of legislation,—a proper check upon the executive,—a wise arrangement of the judiciary, is all that is wanting

for human happiness. Were the laws, the government, in good order, all were well with us; the rest would care for itself." Finally, "to reform a world, to reform a nation, no wise man will undertake; and all but foolish men know that the only solid, though a far slower reformation, is what each begins and perfects *on himself*."

Now Carlyle of course was not the only protest in his own day against the materialism that seemed to envelop all things. The Oxford Movement made itself felt in religion, and the same impulse accounted for Pre-Raphaelitism in art. Carlyle, however, brought the discussion into the arena of public affairs. Professedly a Liberal, he was at heart an arrant Tory. Opponent of Darwin, he himself represented better than anybody else the cruel doctrine of the survival of the fittest. And either he was too abbreviated in his logic or too cowardly to carry his system to its natural conclusion. Even as it is, however, he stands revealed as the direct progenitor of Nietzsche. The Hero is the father of the *Übermensch*. When, therefore, Germany invaded France in 1870 we are not surprised to find Carlyle writing in the *Times* an appeal in

behalf of the country of his love, or to know that for his valued services Bismarck later bestowed upon him the Prussian Order of Merit.

All of his thought as bearing on the Negro Carlyle summed up in his paper, "The Nigger Question." The title speaks for itself. He had no sympathy for the abolitionists in America; so far as he could see, they were on the wrong road altogether; and he naturally fell on the side of the Confederate States in the Civil War. He seems interested in recording the impression of his friend Sterling that the Negroes of the West Indies were unfit for the suffrage. So to him indeed would be the Poles, the Hindoos, the Jugo-Slavs—all struggling people of our own day. So, too, would he defend the treatment of the Herreros by Germany in 1903. Such a man might have some greatness of soul, but he is out of touch with the onward movement of humanity. He has no place in his scheme for the unfortunate, the maimed, the uneducated—no place for pity, no place for love. He glorifies Cæsar and Cromwell and Frederick, but he knows not the rule of Jesus Christ.

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